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East Europe Report

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18 NOVEMBER 1986

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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ECONOMY

BULGARIA

FINANCING SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS

Moscow EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV in Russian No 7,
Jul 86 pp 79-83

[Article by Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, Bulgarian People's Republic:
"Finances and Acceleration of Scientific-Technical Progress in the Bulgarian
People's Republic"]

[Text] At the February (1985) plenum of the BKP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Central Committee, the general secretary of the party's Central Committee, Todor Zhivkov, drew new theoretical and practical generalizations relative to the further building of a mature socialist society in the NRB [Bulgarian People's Republic] on the base of the scientific and technical revolution. He said: "The creation of a material-technical base which is adequate for mature socialism, the raising of the people's well-being, and ensuring the multi-faceted development of the personality and its highly effective realization are impossible without the scientific and technical revolution.... Under present conditions the accomplishment of the scientific and technical revolution signifies the building of a developed socialist society."

In the 8th Five-Year Plan, thanks to the state budget and the funds of enterprises a considerable part of the country's financial resources were used for the accomplishment of tasks noted in the plan for the introduction of scientific and technical achievements and the creation of the material and technical base of scientific and engineering-introductory organizations. In comparison with the preceding five-year plan, expenditures on scientific-research and engineering-introductory activity comprised 153.2 percent. Their proportion in the national income produced also increased.

Even in the first years of the 9th Five-Year Plan the Bulgarian economy will develop along the path of scientific-technical progress. The main directions and specific measures in this area have been determined by the decisions of the February plenum of the BKP's Central Committee. Special attention is being devoted to the accelerated introduction of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress in accordance with the plan for the social and economic development of the Bulgarian People's Republic for 1986. It is envisioned that 862 million leva will be allotted to finance scientific-research and engineering-introductory activity, which is 11 percent greater in comparison with 1985. This will comprise 3.1 percent of the planned national income as compared with 2.8 percent in 1985. A large part of these funds, approximately 82 percent, will be

expended on the accomplishment of the program and the tasks for scientific-technical progress at the national and branch levels.

The share of funds from the state budget in the financing of scientific-technical progress is increasing annually. Appropriated from it are basic scientific research and national and interbranch special-purpose programs for the accomplishment of big scientific-technical tasks and tasks of a long-range experimental nature which individual enterprises, administrative organizations, and branch ministries cannot finance independently.

A specific financial source for allocating a significant portion of the funds for these purposes is the "Technical Progress" fund being formed in the State Committee for Research and Technology. This fund is replenished annually from the funds of the state budget and is used for the realization of strategic directions of scientific and technical policy and raising the technical-economic, technological, and organizational level of production in accordance with Bulgarian and foreign scientific and technical achievements. In individual branches resources are expended for these purposes from the "Technical Progress and Investment" fund of the corresponding departments which is basically formed at the cost of the state budget.

In 1985 funds for financing scientific-research and engineering-introductory activity were directed basically to material production including, from them, 35 percent to machine building and electronics, 10 percent to agriculture and the food delicacy industry, 5.9 percent to the chemical industry, 4 percent to metallurgy and ore mining, 3.1 percent to light industry, and 2.6 percent to construction.

For 1986 it is planned to allot from the state budget 240 million leva for scientific and engineering-introductory activity, which is 10.6 percent more in comparison with 1985. Funds will be appropriated from this same source for the accomplishment of national programs in optical electronics and laser technology, electronics and microelectronics, for the development of GAPS [expansion unknown], biotechnology, the production of new materials, and so forth.

To realize the achievements of scientific and technical progress, important significance is also had by the financing of capital investments, the basic requirement of which consists of the high technical and technological level of new facilities and capacities being designed. This is why it can be said that capital investments, regardless of the sources of their financing--state budget, enterprises' and operational organizations' own funds, or bank credits--are one of the most powerful levers for scientific-technical progress. In accordance with the country's increasing economic potential the volume of capital investments in 1985 increased approximately 2.4-fold in comparison with 1970 including approximately 3.3-fold for science and scientific service.

Participation of monetary funds of operational organizations and enterprises is typical for the financing of scientific-technical progress in the Bulgarian People's Republic. From these funds, resources are allocated for the development and introduction of new, high-quality articles which are of interest for an individual subbranch or enterprise. The maintenance of bases for technical development and of scientific and engineering-introductory organizations is paid for

from the "Development and Technical Improvement" fund, at the expense of which all studies are financed and the "products" of scientific organizations which are subject to introduction into production are paid for.

A condition for the use of monetary funds of enterprises and operational organizations for the financing of scientific-technical progress is the requirement: by means of financial relations, to ensure the unity of interests of society, operational organizations, enterprises, brigades, and each member of society. Consequently, the system of monetary funds plays the role of economic lever for influence, and not only a financial source. Here, a special role belongs to the "Stimulation of Technical Progress", "Putting New Works into Production," and "Economic Risk" funds.

The purpose of the "Stimulation of Technical Progress" fund is the tying together of the immediate economic interests of the labor collectives and its members with the creation of highly efficient technologies, new types of raw materials and materials and high-quality products, and their rapid mastery in production. Deducted for the fund from profits are funds which are completely intended for the payment of rewards to direct participants in the introduction of technical innovations. The amount of such deductions, in accordance with a standard specially approved by the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, is determined depending on the realized additional profit as a result of the employment of the innovations. In addition, additional funds are deducted for the fund of which 10 percent goes for the motivation of management personnel of enterprises and 30 percent--of the labor collective or brigade which participated in the introduction. Thus, the interests of all participants in this process at a separate enterprise are combined. It is obvious that the higher the economic impact, the greater the possibility for direct material motivation.

Bonus payments are due for the introduction of new and improved technologies and articles and other scientific and technical developments, advanced experience, and measures which contribute to a reduction of material and labor expenditures per unit of production, the more complete loading of production capacities, and so forth. In this case the use of the assets of this fund permits raising directly the personal interest in making more active the creative capabilities of scientific and supervisory personnel, specialists, workers, and employees.

The collective interest of the enterprises in the introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress is also stimulated to a certain degree through the "Putting New Works into Production" and "Economic Risk" funds. The assets which are allocated in them are accumulated in the operational organization and are intended for the compensation of profit, the amount of which is reduced at the initial stage of putting new technologies, articles, and so forth into production.

The role of monetary funds in the accomplishment of technical progress at the level of enterprise and operational organization consists of the fact that, on the one hand, they ensure the financing of scientific studies and results and their introduction and, on the other, necessary conditions are created for self-reimbursement and economic incentive. The goal of the employment of the principles of cost accounting at enterprises and in operational organizations and the system for the distribution of profit and the formation of funds for wages

created on their basis is the enterprise's output of high-quality and efficient production. This task is met by the timely replacement of production funds, the introduction of new technologies and materials, the contemporary organization of labor, and so forth.

In recent years, especially after the National Party Conference on Quality in 1984, a number of refinements and additions were introduced relative to the influence of financial levers on the accomplishment of tasks by the enterprises using economic assets. In this connection, we can note the offering, to the enterprises, of part of the tax on profits and part of the turnover tax when they accomplish tasks of technical progress and raise the quality of production. These revenues go primarily to the "Expansion and Technical Improvement" fund from which the operational organizations and enterprises finance technical progress programs. The rights of the operational organizations in the use of assets from the "Economic Risk" fund are also expanded for reimbursement of additional expenditures which arise in the production of new or improved output.

An increase in profit can be attained basically as a result of the improvement of the organization of production, a reduction in defective output and economy in the expenditure of materials, and the timely introduction of scientific and technical achievements. The first factor has a comparatively brief effect; therefore, the collectives of enterprises, being guided by economic interests, should place emphasis on the second. This is why primary significance is acquired by the problem of replacing fixed capital which, in the financial aspect, is connected with the amortization policy and control of the investment process.

For the creation of conditions for the rapid introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress it is permitted to increase, in the established procedure and on the proposal of ministries and operational organizations and by the competent state organ for individual branches and subbranches, the amortization norms up to 50 percent depending on their profitability and the necessity for technical reequipping.

To accelerate the timely replacement of fixed production capital, the enterprises have been granted the right to accomplish modernization, reconstruction, and the introduction of contemporary equipment and technology from the funds for capital repair. They may also use without restrictions their own and bank funds for the modernization, reconstruction, and replacement of fixed production capital which increases efficiency and improves the quality of production and for the acquisition of highly productive equipment--flexible automated production lines, robotized modules, microprocessor systems, and electronic computer equipment.

Under such conditions each enterprise which realizes sufficient profit, a portion of which goes to cover its obligations for the state budget, the payment of interest for credits for working capital, and other mandatory payments, may direct the remnants of the assets to the "Expansion and Technological Improvement" fund. At their expense or from bank credit the enterprise can finance the timely putting into production of the new highly productive fixed capital which it needs. Enterprises which, for objective reasons, cannot be provided with internal assets or credits for the indicated purposes may obtain financial assistance from the "Technical Progress and Investment" fund of the corresponding department or from the state budget.

The financial levers of the operating economic mechanism, directed toward the stimulation and acceleration of scientific-technical progress in the Bulgarian People's Republic, further a growth of economic interest, at the enterprises and in operational organizations, in the introduction of scientific and technical achievements. It is necessary to note, however, that they still do not completely correspond to the new views and approaches to the development and conduct of the Bulgarian People's Republic's scientific-technical policy which was approved at the February (1985) plenum of the BKP Central Committee. In the report of the general secretary of the BKP Central Committee, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the significance of the planned basis in the control of scientific-technical progress is stressed as is the significance of the programmed organization of science, a selective strategy when accomplishing the scientific-technical revolution, and the type classification of contemporary technology. Also stressed was the closer tying together of financial resources and the final results from the accomplishment of the research cycle--the introduction and the subordination of the country's financial and currency balances to the requirements of contemporary scientific and technical progress.

All this envisions, under conditions of the organic unity of the financial system and the system for controlling the national economy, the even wider employment of financial levers at all levels (national, branch, operational organization, enterprise, and brigade) to assist in the creation of a material-technical base which is adequate for mature socialism. In this connection, the following are now necessary for improvement of the financial mechanism:

--to use more widely and purposefully on a planned program-integrated basis the budgetary incomes and expenditures for the creation of the material base of the national economy at a high scientific and technical level;

--to establish effectively sources for the appropriation of capital investments and to ensure the participation of the state budget in financing for stimulating the development of structure-determining production works, subbranches, and branches and the accomplishment of national, interbranch (in individual cases branch and territorial) integrated-special purpose programs for the introduction of advanced technologies and other scientific and technical achievements;

--to purposefully grant funds for the financing of integrated programs for the introduction of the achievements of science and technology depending on the tasks which have been posed with the balancing of expenditures and results of the scientific product which has been created and introduced;

--to devote special attention to the financing of integrated programs for the synchronization of interconnected technologies and capacities which ensure the multiplication of favorable results and the attainment of a high national-economic impact;

--to make wider use of the temporary system of tax benefits for individual enterprises, operational organizations, or entire branches in accordance with the requirements for a differentiated approach in the accomplishment of the scientific-technical revolution;

--on the basis of a selective approach, to reimburse from the state budget unforeseen expenditures for the putting into production of new products, new capacities, and contemporary technologies and the radical improvement of the organization of labor, and also additional expenditures connected with a rise in the quality, reliability, and other decisive parameters of articles to the level of the best world models or higher;

--to improve as a whole the entire system of distribution processes at enterprises and in operational organizations, including the formation of monetary funds and their use to stimulate acceleration of the introduction of the scientific-technical process.

Regardless of the source of financing--the state budget, the enterprise's own assets, and bank credit--the financial resources should be granted purposefully for each separate program for the introduction of advanced technologies and other scientific and technical achievements. The amount of the funds, including those for economic incentive, should be determined depending on the significance, effectiveness, and final result of the corresponding program.

Important scientific and technical programs which provide a favorable result for several branches or the entire national economy should be purposefully financed from the state budget. In connection with the extent of the plans, it is impossible for one or several organizations or even entire branches to bear such large expenditures. The accomplishment of scientific-technical tasks will permit raising the economic impact in a number of production branches and obtaining additional funds for the state budget. Thus, appropriations granted in the form of an advance will be recovered later on a large scale. This is why expenditures on financing scientific-technical progress should be considered as balanced and assisting the overall increase in the efficiency of public production and a rise in the people's standard of living.

The country's new five-year plan and budget envision active measures for encouraging scientific-technical progress on the main directions. Here, special attention has been devoted to supporting with the necessary material and financial resources the measures on collaboration envisioned by the Integrated Program for Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Out to the Year 2000.

The increase in the role of finances in the struggle for the realization of the BKP's scientific and technical policy is predetermined by their essence as a category inherent in socialist public production. The continuous improvement of financial relations is a powerful means for the systematic direction of social and economic progress toward a further rise in the efficiency of public production and the building of a mature socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic at accelerated rates.

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ECONOMY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FERRY LINK WITH USSR BECOMES OPERATIONAL

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 2 Oct p 7

[Article by Hans Herbert Goetze: "The New Ferry Link from Ruegen to Lithuania"]

[Text] Berlin, 1 Oct--It is here. On Thursday (today), GDR Minister of Transportation Otto Arndt will open the new ferry-rail link between the GDR and the Soviet Union. The first ferry, the Mukran, will sail from the new ferry port to Klaipeda, formerly Memel, located today in the Soviet republic of Lithuania. By the year 1990, operating on an 8-hour cycle, six of these ferries, three under the flag of the GDR and three under the flag of the Soviet Union, will have commenced rail freight traffic on the 506-km (272 nautical miles) route. On 3 October, the new ferry port in Klaipeda on the Soviet side will be opened.

This adds a significant new line in the Baltic to the existing ferry links between Sassnitz/GDR and Sweden. No one can predict what effects the new link will have on transportation policy. The new link is initially planned for direct traffic between the GDR and the Soviet Union, but it is already clear, said Heinz Rentner, one of the deputy minister of transportation, that the new link will also be available for transit traffic if necessary. He said that inquiries, including some from the FRG, had already been made; it would be conceivable that a suitable agreement could be reached with the Soviet Union.

Five years ago, in 1981, the shipbuilding engineers from the Mathias-Thesen shipyard in Wismar held their first discussion with Soviet authorities in Moscow about the construction of six rail ferries which would link the GDR with the Soviet Union, with the ice-free port of Klaipeda, avoiding Poland. In June 1982, an agreement for the construction of a rail-ferry link between the port of Mukran on the island of Ruegen and Klaipeda was signed at the 30th congress of the Government Commission on Parity of the GDR and the Soviet Union. It was agreed at the time that ferry traffic would start in 1986. In April 1982, GDR State Planning Commission chairman Schuerer had stated at the time, construction work had already begun.

It must be remembered: unrest broke out in the summer of 1980 at the Danzig Lenin shipyard. In the wake of price increases and strikes a long period of political uncertainty began in Poland, the outcome of which must have appeared unclear at the time. The Soviet Union and its most important ally, the

GDR, could not accept the possibility that the transport link regarded as vital for both countries could be subject to prolonged disruption one day, or even severed.

Neu-Mukran lies on the shallow bay on the island of Ruegen, facing the Baltic, on the Prorer Wiek, between Sassnitz and the chain of well-known resorts like Binz or Sellin, with the "schmale Heide" and the "Feuersteinfelder" behind it. The island, which is indented with numerous inlets, has 85,000 inhabitants, but in the last few years there were up to 5,000 additional workers at this, the largest transportation construction site in the GDR, and in the future there will be several thousand permanent employees.

A total of 100 new operations has been moved in, in addition to a new generating station. Mukran is a construction site and will remain one for years to come. By 1989, the ferry port will be connected to the GDR's electrified railroad network. GDR officials are naturally not talking about costs; it is said to be a project costing in the billions, but which will amortize itself in less than 10 years.

Out of the little fishing village of Mukran has developed the major rail-ferry port, a port for what is known technically as rail-borne mixed freight traffic. A 1,345-meter long mole, which was essential to protect the 200-meter long ferry bridge, the nucleus of the harbor, extends far out into the sea.

Just as important as the ferry bridge is the extensive system of tracks. Eventually 1,600 railroad workers will be employed at the station, where transfer operations will continue around the clock. More than 60 kms of tracks have been laid so far. The freight cars are set up for the Russian broad gauge (1,520 mm) and they have to be "retracked" in large covered transshipping halls by having bogies pushed under them. This extends the Soviet railroad network, with its broad gauge, directly onto the territory of the GDR, a remarkable event.

One of the captains has stated that the first of the six ferries, which is now starting operation, is technically the best in the world. The large ships can be maneuvered up to the ferry bridge to within the width of a matchbox, 4 cms. The ferries are 190 ms long, with a beam of 28 ms and have a dead weight capacity of 11,700 tons. Each one has room for 103 freight cars, 54 of them on the upper deck.

The crossing on the new ferry link takes only one-sixth of the time normally required. Rostock, the GDR's overseas port, is relieved of its overload. According to the plans, 5.3 million tons of freight will be carried on the ferry line; in future about one-third of the volume of transportation between the GDR and the Soviet Union will pass through the new ferry port. It is said that the favorable sea route, which was also the shortest, was in Mukran's favor, in addition to the water conditions.

Naturally no one is talking about the true reasons and the political implications. There were said to have been "certain difficulties," including bottlenecks and transportation losses in the transit traffic across Poland.

As a result of this development, the People's Republic of Poland will lose transportation revenue in the years ahead. For teh GDR, once it has absorbed the financial burden of this major construction site, the new link will mean more rapid transportation and substantially lower costs. And the Soviet Union has moved a little closer to the GDR.

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ECONOMY

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

ROLLING STOCK EXPORTS--Bucharest, AGERPRES 6/10/1986--Romania exports a wide range of products of the rolling stock industry manufactured by over fifth works and plants, some of them first-ranking units of the machine-building industry--"23 August" of Bucharest, "Electroputers" in Craiova, the factories in Arad and Drobeta-Turnu Severin. The list includes hydraulic diesel, electric diesel and electric locomotives with powers of up to 5,100 hp, freight cars of various capacities and for various purposes, passenger cars, dining cars, tramways, underground trains and cars, etc. Through the agency of the foreign trade enterprise "Mecano-Exportimport" Romania exported over 1970-1985 some 120,000 freight and passenger cars, well over 1,500 hydraulic diesel, electric diesel and electric locomotives to scores of countries on all continents among which Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Austria, Bangladesh, Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Gabon, the GDR, Greece, Indonesia, Iran, Mexico, Mozambique, Nigeria, the Philippines, Poland, Peru, Sri Lanka, Syria, the USSR, the U.S.A. and Vietnam. Romania has business relations with more than six hundred firms from sixty countries. It puts at the disposal of the clients rolling stock repair shops, assembly shops, designs, know-how, other engineering services. [Summary] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0942 GMT 6 Oct 86 AU] /6662

COAL INDUSTRY EFFICIENCY--Bucharest, AGERPRES. 3/10/1986--Measures have been taken by all the units of the Romanian coal industry to expand mechanization and promote new extractive technologies. In the case of this steep seams, for instance, new powered supports and cutting machines have been introduced to ensure a rise in labour productivity from 3.5 tons to eight tons each shift and diminish the needs of wood nearly ten times. These measures have led to considerably greater outputs. The Ploiesti mine combine has delivered over 300,000 tons of lignite and steam coal in excess of the planned tasks this year. Important extra amounts of coal have also been delivered by mines in the Jiu Valley, Bihor, Salaj, Banat, etc. [Excerpts] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 3 Oct 86 AU] /6662

CSO: 2020/16

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

OIL PIPELINE DEBT, OTHER PROBLEMS

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 86 p 17

[Excerpts] The Yugoslav Oil Pipeline (JUNA) which runs from the port of Omisalj on Krk Island 750 kilometers to refineries in Sisak, Bosanski Brod, Novi Sad, and Pancevo has had problems for years which the founders, the courts, and the state have not been able to resolve. Although completed at the end of 1979 the line has not yet been established; it operates as an organization under construction, while trying to acquire revenues through the courts, because the users pay their obligations irregularly and some do not want to pay at all.

At the time it was built the pipeline was the product of the elementary logic and experience of foreign countries: calculations showed that oil transport by train or tank trucks was considerably more expensive.

The Yugoslav pipeline is an example of how, under domestic conditions and relations, a good idea turned into a problem. First, each refinery had its own view of where the future pipeline should run: the Bosanski Brod refinery wanted to build the line through the Neretva valley, while the terminal in the port of Ploce (now Kardeljevo) and the refinery within INA wanted to run the line from the port of Rijeka, and the Pancevo refinery considered the "natural route" to be the Morava and Vardar valleys, i.e., it should run from Salonika. When agreement was finally reached it was greeted as another proof of togetherness; also, the Hungarians and Czechoslovaks wanted to have one branch of the line. So it was to transport 30 million tons annually.

The first problem arose with financing: INA, Energoinvest, and Naftagas did not have money to build it, they only invested a token 750 million dinars of the 4.45 billion dinars needed based on 1974 calculations. So \$426 million in foreign credits were taken. In 1980 when the final calculations were made, the line cost 14.6 billion dinars. The "energy crisis" arose while the line was under construction and when it was completed Yugoslavia had drastically changed its petroleum import and consumption. In 6 years the line has transported as much oil as it was supposed to ship in 1 year. The costs of shipping have not declined and the founders have undertaken to pay all costs regardless of how much oil is shipped. For instance, the Sisak refinery has leased an 8-million-ton capacity annually but gets only 400,000 tons through the line.

The state was, of course, called on to help, so most of the costs are being met by increasing the price of oil products; i.e., 60 percent of the total revenue is collected in this way, but the remainder is not easy to obtain. In addition, a dispute has arisen between the founders over sharing the costs, as well as over the territorial division of the line which runs through two republics and one province. It was originally decided that the line would be one work organization with three basic organizations of associated labor (OOURs). Naftagas and Energoinvest want it divided according to whom it serves which would mean that from Sisak to Bosanski Brod and the terminal in this city would be within the OOUR Bosanski Brod, the line to Novi Sad and Pancevo would be within the OOUR Novi Sad, while the terminal in Omisalj and the line from Sisak would be in the OOUR Sisak. INA, however, wants a purely territorial division, meaning that everything up to Bosanski Brod would be in the Sisak OOUR.

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CSO: 2800/35

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

NATIONWIDE DEVELOPMENT STUDY DESCRIBED

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 86 pp 25-26

[Summary] The Jugoslovenska naucna tribina (Yugoslav Scientific Tribunal--JNT), a group formed 2 years ago and composed of the academies of science, scientific institutes, universities, institutes of higher learning, and leading economic associations, has initiated the publication of a large compendium of monographs on "Yugoslavia in Development" aimed at increasing the influence of science on forming development policy, on cultivating Yugoslav togetherness, linking scholars, scientists, and specialists, on expanding the material bases of associated labor, broadening a constructive and tolerant criticism as well as scientific and professional ethics, and enriching scientific knowledge. The monographs are intended to bring together the knowledge, experience, and views of the best Yugoslav minds on the complex questions of economic development and the scientific technological revolution, but they are also written for the general professional public.

In the next 5 years the group plans to publish five monographs on the key directions of development, the first of which "Energy and Development," has already been printed. The others in process are on food, technology, materials, and transportation.

Over 500 distinguished scholars and experts in these fields are engaged in the studies, including 120 who contributed 80 studies for the 720-page book on "Energy and Development." This monograph includes, among others, a study by JNT honorary president, Pavle Savic, on energy sources and energy transfer, a study by Hrvoje Pozar, JNT president, on how Yugoslav energy use has become less efficient compared to the rest of the developed world, and a study by Muris Osmanagic showing that nuclear energy will alternate with hydro- and other forms of energy for almost another 100 years. Some material had to be omitted from the studies because it contained state secrets on energy reserves.

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CSO: 2800/35

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

OBROVAC PLANT BURDEN--Since the beginning of 1983 to the end of 1985 Croatian economic organizations have allocated about 9 billion dinars to cover the debts of the failed Obrovac aluminum plant. Although the Zagreb Economic Bank, with the help of republic funds for general social needs and the support of the other banks in the republic, have paid out a considerable part of the obligations as they came due, the unsettled debt, including interest, amounts to \$102 million and is supposed to be repaid by 1990. A special 1983 law obligated all economic organizations of associated labor to allocate 0.41 percent of their income to cover the above-cited 9 billion dinars, and a proposal to extend the law to the end of this year is being considered. But this will not be enough. Will the Croatian economy be able to pull this burden up to 1990? A detailed reexamination of all obligations arising from this mistaken investment (the machinery, incidentally, continues to fall into ruin) and the possibility of covering the obligations has again been announced. But however things go, it is clear that the economy is paying for the mistake and those who sponsored it are paying the least. [Excerpt] [Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 23 Sep 86 pp 7-8] /6091

OBROVAC PLANT SOLD--The assembly of Obrovac Opstina has accepted an offer from "Intereksport" of Ljubljana and "Minos" of Gornji Milanovac to undertake demolition and the sale of equipment of the aluminum oxide plant in Obrovac. Plans are to demolish this failed "colossus" in the next 3 years, to sell it off to domestic and foreign buyers and from the money thus obtained to try to construct a program to open up as many jobs as possible for the former workers, 350 of whom are still unemployed. By selling the installations one figures on opening new plants for railroad equipment and machine tools, auto bodies and parts, plastics, and other products. The first plant is expected to be opened in mid-1987 and would employ at least 50 workers. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 86 p 12] /6091

COOPERATION WITH ALGERIA--Although our January-August exports to Algeria were on a level with those of a year ago, amounting to \$86.7 million, imports were only \$42.7 million in value compared to \$109.5 million in the same period last year. As a result, the value of 8-months' trade between our two countries was 51 percent lower than last year. Although our capital investment cooperation situation is solid in regard to work in progress, this year not one of our work organizations has gotten new work in Algeria, and this will probably hold true also for next year. Most projects on which our construction workers

are engaged will be completed at the end of this year or by the middle of next year. Nevertheless, interest is strong in maintaining long-term forms of cooperation, through technology transfer and technical assistance, considering that our ties in the last few years have achieved a level of quality that no other developing country has with Yugoslavia. [Excerpt] [Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Oct 86 p 3] /6091

ENERGOINVEST-USSR CONTRACT--The "Energoinvest" enterprise in Sarajevo has signed another contract with Soviet partners for Soviet deliveries of equipment for the first unit of the 500-megawatt "Tuzla B" thermal electric power plant which will have an annual production of 3 billion kwh of electric power. This \$126 million-contract signifies the beginning of construction of the largest electric power complex in Bosnia-Hercegovina with a total generating capacity of 2,000 megawatts and the continued development of the Banovici and Kreka coal mines which will provide the raw materials for these plants. The electric power industry of Bosnia-Hercegovina has built 900 megawatts of installed capacity already on the basis of Soviet technology. The first unit will be built on the basis of pooled labor and resources between Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia which will share in the power thus produced. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 7 Oct 86 p 8] /6091

CONSTRUCTION WORK ABROAD--In the first 6 months of this year foreign exchange revenue earned by Yugoslav construction firms abroad was hardly \$798 million, or 12.7 percent less than in the same period last year. Although the value of contracts for this year amounts to about \$2.12 billion, these firms will have difficulty meeting last year's \$1.95 billion. In the first half of last year work in the developing countries was valued at \$829 million, while this year it has fallen to \$628 million. Although work in the developed Western countries increased 11.4 percent compared to last year, the value was less, amounting to only \$48 million. But in the COMECON countries the value of construction work by Yugoslav firms was \$122 million, or almost three times more than in the same period last year and represents a major compensation for the decline in revenue from countries of the Third World. [Excerpt] [Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 86 p 31] /6091

CSO: 2200/35

POLITICS

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

ALIA GREETSPANISH KING--Tirana, 12 October (ATA)--The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia has sent the following message of greetings to the king of Spain, Juan Carlos I: "On occasion of your National Day, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my name, I extend to you sincere greetings and to the people of Spain the best wishes for progress and prosperity. I am convinced that the establishment of the diplomatic relations, which is an important event for our two peoples, will give a new impetus to the development of the friendly links with mutual interest between Albania and Spain. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 1025 GMT 12 Oct 86 AU] /12232

ALIA GREETSPYEMENI LEADER--Tirana, 14 October (ATA)--The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, sent the following message of greetings to the chairman of the Presidium of the High People's Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Hajdar Abu Bakr al-'Atas: "On occasion of your National Day, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my name I convey to you and the friendly people of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen the best wishes for well-being and prosperity." [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 14 Oct 86 AU] /12232

PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM PUBLISHED--On the occasion of the 78th birthday of the unforgettable leader of the party and of the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, a photograph album came off the presses and was placed on sale today. The album was published by the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies attached to the AWP Central Committee. In addition to numerous photographs, a large proportion of which are published for the first time, the album also includes an extended text, [with] a broad range of biographical and historical information. [Excerpts] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 15 Oct 86 AU] /12232

ATA DELEGATION TO SWEDEN--Tirana, 16 October (ATA)--At the invitation of the Swedish news agency, TT, a delegation of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, led by its Director Taqo Zoto, left for Sweden. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 16 Oct 86 AU] /12232

LEADERS ATTEND STEELWORKS ANNIVERSARY--Tirana, 16 October (ATA)--On occasion of the commissioning of the "Steel of the Party" Metallurgical Combine 10 years ago,

on the day of the birth of our respected and unforgettable leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the context of the Week of Enver, a meeting was organised at the "Metallurgu" palace of the city of Elbasan, on 15 October. Attending were the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of industry and mining, Comrade Hajredin Celiku; the first secretary of the district party committee Xhemal Dymylja, and other comrades. [Excerpt] [Tirana ATA in English 1144 GMT 16 Oct 86 AU] /12232

ALIA GREETZ ZAMBIA'S KAUNDA--Tirana, 24 October (ATA)--The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, has sent the following message of greetings to the president of the Republic of Zambia, Kenneth David Kaunda: "It is a pleasure for me that on occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Zambia, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my name to convey to you and through you to the friendly Zambian people sincere greetings and the best wishes. "Wishing the Zambian people ever greater successes for the progress and prosperity of the country I express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will develop continuously to the benefit of our two peoples and the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism." [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0805 GMT 24 Oct 86 AU] /12232

DELEGATION RETURNS FROM SWEDEN--Tirana, 24 October (ATA)--The delegation of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, led by its Director Taqo Zoto, which at the invitation of the Swedish News Agency (TT) paid a visit to Sweden, returned home. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0902 GMT 24 Oct 86 AU] /12232

CSO: 2020/18

POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED, SPD FORMULATE NUCLEAR FREE ZONE RESOLUTION

Joint Communique Text

LD212134 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1602 GMT 21 Oct 86

["Joint SED-SPD Communique on Discussions on "Principles for a Nuclear Weapons-Free Corridor in Central Europe"--ADN headline]

[Text] Bonn, 21 October (ADN)--The joint SED-SPD communique has the following text:

During their meeting in Berlin on 19 September 1985 Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Willy Brandt, chairman of the SPD, agreed to discuss in a joint working group the formation of a nuclear weapons-free corridor in Europe, in accordance with the proposal by the Palme Commission.

The Palme Commission referred to the dangers which emanate in densely populated and highly industrialized Central Europe from the numerous nuclear weapons of NATO and the Warsaw Pact organization which are deployed near the borders. In the event of a military conflict the nuclear threshold could be crossed here. In order to raise the nuclear threshold and to reduce the temptation to use nuclear weapons at an early stage, the Palme Commission recommended the establishment of an area free of nuclear weapons for, to begin with, 150 km on both sides.

The working group investigated in six sessions the opportunities for implementing this proposal. As a result, the "Principles for a Nuclear Weapons-Free Corridor in Central Europe" were agreed, which have been approved by the SED Central Committee Politburo, on the proposal of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and by the SPD Presidium, on the proposal of party chairman Willy Brandt, and Bundestag group chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel.

With these "Principles," it is made clear what can be achieved as a result of government negotiations. This is an appeal to all governments in East and West which maintain armed forces in the planned corridor, to start negotiations at the earliest possible date on the establishment of a nuclear weapons-free corridor. Such a corridor would complement the negotiations in Geneva, especially on the reduction of intermediate-range missiles, and provide both sides with more security.

Particularly after the success of Stockholm, with its confidence-building measures agreed from the Atlantic to the Urals, which make a surprise attack more improbable than before, a corridor according to the principles which have been developed would further extend the political early warning periods and reduce offensive capability further. Such a corridor, therefore, would be a confidence-building measure in accordance with the spirit of Stockholm. Since not only nuclear weapons would be withdrawn from the corridor, the dividing line between the two alliances, but all weapons which can be used in a conventional and a nuclear manner at the same time, it goes beyond Stockholm.

Thus the structure of the conventional armed forces and their armaments would be changed on both sides in such a way, without reducing defensive capability, as to take a step toward nonaggressive capability and military stability at a lower and lower level and, at the same time, to make a considerable contribution toward disarmament in the conventional area.

There remains the task, which could not and was not intended to be solved by the working group, of attaining a system of cooperative common security through negotiations and initiatives by the two alliances.

The outcome of the Reykjavik meeting must not have effects which are detrimental to peace and Europe security. Particularly now, stronger exertions and initiatives are necessary in order to make use of the positive first steps from the meeting to prevent an arms race in space and to end it on earth.

The jointly worked out "principles" are intended to be understood as a contribution from the center of Europe, through which the dangers from tactical nuclear weapons and the conventional armed forces connected with them will be reduced. This fits into the proposal of the Warsaw Pact states in the Budapest Appeal, to which NATO intends to give a constructive reply in accordance with the decisions of Halifax.

The working group has been guided in its deliberations by the obligations formulated in Article 5 of the Basic Treaty and by the responsibility that no war must emanate from German soil any more and that peace must emanate from German soil.

The two sides will:

--Hand over the results of their work to the governments of their states,

--Convey them to the governments of those countries which have nuclear weapons in Central Europe at their disposal or which maintain armed forces in the corridor,

--Make them accessible to other interested governments, parliaments, and parties.

The members of the working group were:

--On behalf of the SED:

Herman Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee;

Dr Manfred Uschner, deputy departmental director in the SED Central Committee;

Professor Dr Karl Lanius, director of the High Energy Physics Institute;
Karl-Heinz Wagner, official of the SED Central Committee; Dr Guenter Hillmann,
section head in the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

On behalf of the SPD Bundestag group:

Egon Bahr, Chairman of the Subcommittee for Disarmament and Arms Control in the German Bundestag and member of the SPD Presidium;

Karsten D. Voight, chairman of the foreign policy working group of the SPD Bundestag group, member of the Executive of the SPD Bundestag group and of the SPD Party Executive;

Erwing Horn, chairman of the security issues working group and member of the Executive of the SPD Bundestag group and member of the SPD Party Council;

Dr Uwe Stehr, SPD Bundestag group expert on disarmament and arms limitation and disarmament at the appropriate time.

GDR's Axen's Statement

LD212254 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1657 GMT 21 Oct 86

[Text] Bonn, 21 October (TANJUG)--The statement delivered by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the international press conference in Bonn today has the following text:

For the second time the representatives of the SED have the opportunity, together with the representatives of the SPD, to present to the public before the federal press conference here in Bonn, a new and extraordinarily significant political disarmament initiative.

I am not betraying any secrets when I point out that this important results has come about even though the two parties represent different political and ideological positions. The two parties are active in states with different social systems, and each one is, on his own side, a reliable partner in his alliance.

In our time--on this there is fundamental agreement between the SED and the SPD, and not only between them--there is nothing more important than to ensure the survival of mankind and to advocate peace in a concrete manner.

The nuclear sword of Damocles which hovers over the globe, over our common home, Europe, and over the two German states, knows neither geographical nor ideological frontiers. To reduce this threat and, finally, to take it away from us forever is the categorical imperative of responsible political activity in our time. This cannot and must not be a matter for the superpowers alone. It is more than our right to determine or to share in determining our fate. It is our duty toward our peoples and all others, toward the present and future generations.

The unique new disarmament proposals of the USSR in Reykjavik have opened up a historic chance to liberate Europe and the whole world from nuclear weapons. All peoples and all states, including the small and medium-sized ones, are called upon to help the voice of reason and realism in world politics to make a breakthrough.

No more time must be lost, especially in Central Europe where the two alliance systems face each other directly in the narrowest area.

This area is crammed full of weapons systems of all types, especially nuclear weapons of different ranges, including short range. A military incident, brought about intentionally or through human or technical failure, would have the most catastrophic consequences here at once. All life in Europe would be extinguished in the shortest period of time. Never again must a war emanate from Europe--specifically, from German soil--but only peace. The difficult work of construction after 1945 must not have been in vain. Peace for ourselves, for our children and grandchildren, a stable peace with fewer and fewer weapons--this is, in our view, not only a goal which is worth striving for, but it is an attainable one. Peaceful coexistence is the only alternative to a war of destruction.

The GDR has acted and is acting steadfastly, with its policy of businesslike and results-orientated dialogue and many-faceted cooperation, toward easing the situation in Europe and in the world.

As Erich Honecker stressed recently and is proving through his foreign policy initiatives, our republic has never broken off the dialogue or let itself be discouraged by setbacks, even in times when there was no talking. The GDR was and remains ready to take concrete steps toward safeguarding peace with all those who let realism and reason prevail.

For years the GDR has again and again addressed the FRG with the proposal to establish a zone free of nuclear weapons. Since 1972 it has been pressing for the full use of Article 5 of the Basic Treaty between the GDR and the FRG, which envisages constructive collaboration for arms limitation and disarmament, especially in nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

On 27 January 1983 the government of the GDR responded positively to the proposal of the Palme Commission, submitted officially by the government of Sweden, for the establishment of a corridor in Central Europe free of battlefield nuclear weapons. It expressed its readiness, proceeding from the principle of equality and equal security, to make its whole territory available for a nuclear weapons-free corridor.

Only a few days later, on 4 February 1983, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, addressed Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl by letter with the proposal to support the corridor proposal. Regrettably, the reaction so far has remained negative.

However, the SED still regards the proposal of the Palme Commission as extremely significant for peace and security in Europe. Thus, it was only all too natural that, as a result of the meeting between Erich Honecker and Willy Brandt in

Berlin on 19 September 1985, it came to the agreement to have the Palme proposal thoroughly investigated for its feasibility, with consideration of all the circumstances and viewpoints, by a joint group of experts from the two parties.

We are today presenting to you the results of six meetings of this working group, which have been confirmed by the SED Central Committee and the SPD Presidium. They are the "Basic Principles for a Nuclear Weapons-Free Corridor in Central Europe" and the "Joint Communiqué."

The "Basic Principles" make clear what can be attained as a result of negotiations between the governments of the GDR, the FRG, and the CSSR and other interested European governments.

What is the main content of the basic principles?

1. Part 1, the political preamble, makes clear that this new initiative is arranged in the process of the global and European efforts for arms limitation and disarmament. It wants to create more trust and more security in Central Europe, without questioning the alliance affiliation of the participating sides.

2. Part 2 defines the aim of the basic principles: A nuclear weapons-free corridor is to be established along the dividing line between the two alliances in Central Europe. It embraces parts of the territory of the GDR, the FRG, and the CSSR to an extent of, initially, 150 km on each side--in other words, of 300 km altogether. On the territory of the GDR, it would run approximately along the line Stralsund-Berlin-Wittenberg-Dresden, on the territory of the CSSR along a line which is still to be laid down, and on the territory of the FRG along the line Cuxhaven-Bremen-Bielefeld-Siegen-Mannheim-Ansbach-Munich. We regard this as the first step.

Three years after the establishment of the corridor, the governments will negotiate on the extension of the corridor to a Central European nuclear weapons-free zone. In this, regard will be taken of the experience which has been collected in the meantime, as well as the overall development of East-West relations. Of course, an agreement on the elimination of all intermediate-range missiles in Europe, together with our proposal, would open up the prospect of liberating the whole of our continent from nuclear weapons forever.

3. Part 3 defines the weapons to be removed from the corridor or the zone. All carrier systems which are capable of using nuclear ammunition will be included, as well as the ammunition itself, including the nuclear mines. Since a definite distinction between nuclear and nonnuclear weapons systems has become impossible because of the development of modern weapons technology, all weapons systems which can be used both ways will be classified in the category of nuclear weapons. This applies to artillery, aircraft, and missiles. This is simultaneously a first and important contribution to conventional disarmament.

4. Part 4 lists the obligations of the participating states, including those which have deployed nuclear weapons on the territory of the corridor.

5. Part 5 contains comprehensive regulations on national and international verification which are fully suited to reliably guaranteeing adherence to a future state treaty.

As complementary measures, the working group of the SED and the SPD has considered, among other things:

1. The establishment of an early-warning system for nuclear incidents of all kinds, with regard for the resolutions of the IAEA;
2. The establishment of data banks which are connected with the setting-up of the nuclear weapons-free corridor and the checking of strict adherence to its status;
3. Annual treaty conferences;
4. Identification of the localities belonging to the corridor--for example, by a different color for the place name sign or an additional sign.

The "Basic Principles" refer to weapons systems in Central Europe on which there are no negotiations currently being conducted, either in Geneva or in Vienna. It is precisely these weapons systems which would keep the nuclear threshold very low in the event of a military incident. Specifying them in a state treaty and implementing it would harm nobody but benefit everybody.

Our initiative proceeds on the assumption, particularly after the Reykjavik meeting, that the Soviet Union and the United States must have a common interest in reducing the extremely high concentration of weapons in Central Europe.

The reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons would diminish the danger of an offensive war considerably.

Moving the most dangerous weapons systems in Central Europe apart corresponds most deeply to the spirit and word of the Helsinki Final Act. More security and more trust would facilitate cooperation and coexistence of the peoples and states.

Fewer and fewer weapons--particularly after Reykjavik, this should be a process which will become a gladdening reality which can be experienced for the citizens in both German states and in Europe.

The SED and the SPD have already provided proof, with their joint initiative for the establishment of a chemical weapons-free zone in Europe, that, given reason, realism, and goodwill, solutions are possible in disarmament policy without giving up ideological positions and endangering the security interests of any side. As you know, that joint initiative has led to negotiations between government representatives. It is already having an effect beyond Europe, up to the U.S. Congress. It has encouraged the efforts for a global ban on chemical weapons.

The fact that we are able today to present a very much more far-reaching, concrete project for peace and security in Europe makes us confident. We are

convinced that the "Basic Principles for the Establishment of a Nuclear Weapons-Free Corridor in Central Europe" will play a considerable part in contributing toward advancing the process of disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, on our continent. We shall continue the fruitful dialogue which has been begun between the SED and the SPD on matters of arms limitation and disarmament in this spirit.

May I be allowed at this point to thank our Social-Democratic partners in the talks, especially colleague Egon Bahr, for their results-oriented cooperation, constructive spirit, and critical expertise? It has been confirmed again that where new thinking and activity corresponding to the nuclear age win through, solutions in the interests of people are possible.

Permit me to appeal to the colleagues in the media to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the contents of these important documents and to inform the public correctly through factual reporting.

Basic Principles Text

LD212303 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1633 GMT 21 Oct 86

["Basic Principles for a Nuclear Weapons-Free Corridor in Central Europe"--documentation"--ADN headline]

[Text] Bonn, 21 October (ADN)--The text of the "Basic Principles for a Nuclear Weapons-Free Corridor in Central Europe" is as follows:

I

1. The European Continent contains the highest concentration of weapons and armed forces. The arms race is continuing. The possibility of it being extended to space has not been banished. Life in Europe remains threatened, and increasingly so. This fills people with deep concern.
2. It is thus all the more urgent to achieve political and military detente over the situation in Europe and to bring about, step-by-step, stable common security at an ever lower level of arms and armed forces.
3. One's own contributions and initiatives are thus an expression of the joint responsibility that issues from being immediately affected, directly on the dividing line between the two military alliances.
4. The task is to lessen the danger of the outbreak of a conflict, to promote security and trust between the European states, to support through regional measures efforts for arms control and disarmament that go beyond this, and to take a first step on the path to the worldwide abolition of nuclear weapons.
5. Such a step would complement the Geneva negotiations on the reduction and elimination of strategic and intermediate-range weapons and on the prevention of an arms race in space. Conversely, the hoped-for success of the Geneva negotiations would facilitate the freeing of large parts of Central Europe from nuclear weapons of all kinds and open up the way for the complete liberation of Europe from these weapons.

6. Following up the proposal by the never-to-be-forgotten Olof Palme, nuclear weapons, which keep the threshold to nuclear war low and which in the event of their use would cause uncontrollable escalation, should be eliminated on both sides of the dividing line between the two alliances. This should reduce the nuclear and the conventional offensive capability of the opposing forces and reduce the danger of confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in Europe as a whole.

7. Both sides agree that for Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, military stability should be achieved at an ever lower level through early negotiations also on an effective and drastic reduction of armed forces and conventional arms. This would be in the interests of Central Europe particularly. In view of the rapid technological development of conventional weapons, this becomes all the more important the more nuclear weapons are progressively removed or destroyed in Europe.

8. An initiative on the realization of the nuclear-weapons-free corridor in Central Europe corresponds to the special responsibility of two German states, that never again war and only peace must emanate from German soil. It increases security for both states and their European neighbors and fits in with the goals the Helsinki Final Act has set. It reduces confrontation and promotes cooperation.

II

The Nuclear Weapons-Free Corridor

1. Along the dividing line between the two alliances in Central Europe, a corridor should be created whose territory will be freed from all nuclear weapons.

2. This corridor should include parts of the territories of the FRG, the GDR, and the CSSR.

3. The corridor should initially extend for some 150 km on the territories of the FRG, the GDR, and the CSSR, that is to say for some 300 km altogether.

The corridor would run along a line to be agreed upon in detail between the governments,

--on the territory of the GDR approximately along the line Stralsund-Berlin-Wittenberg--Dersden;

--on the territory of the CSSR approximately along the perimeter;

--on the territory of the FRG approximately along the line Cuxhaven-Bremen-Bielefeld-Siegen-Mannheim-Ansbach-Munich.

4. Three years after the realization of the corridor, the governments will negotiate its expansion into a Central European nuclear-weapons-free zone, that is to say an expansion defined by NATO and the Warsaw Pact states at the Vienna negotiations.

Here account must be taken of the following:

--The experience gathered in the meantime with the nuclear-weapons-free corridor;

--overall East-West developments;

--the results of the U.S.-Soviet negotiations;

--The results of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the CSCE process as a whole, and the MBFR negotiations in Vienna,

--the progress in the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

The exact laying down of the borders of the corridor remains an object for state negotiations, as do all other further questions connected with the creation of the corridor.

III

Definition of the Nuclear Weapons

1. The nuclear weapons in the spirit of these agreed basic principles include all carrier systems that are capable of bringing nuclear ammunition into action, and the nuclear ammunition itself (including nuclear mines).

2. Now that weapons systems have been created by arms developments which can be used both as nuclear and conventional weapons and it has thus become impossible to make a sure distinction, it is necessary for all dually applicable weapons systems to fall into the category of nuclear weapons and be removed from the corridor. This affects artillery, aircraft, and missiles.

This means:

a) for the artillery, the withdrawal of all launcher systems with nuclear capability;

b) for the air forces, the withdrawal of all airborne systems with nuclear capability and the relevant nuclear weapon stocks belonging to them;

c) for missiles the withdrawal of all missile systems with nuclear capability.

3. To ensure that an offensive capability does not arise from the corridor either from old or from new weapons, it is to be agreed that modernized systems which meet the criteria formulated under figure 2 are not brought into the corridor.

IV

Obligations

1. A treaty on the creation of a nuclear-weapons-free corridor as a result of government negotiations must rest on the principles of equality and equal security. It should have unlimited validity and be subject to ratification.
2. To guarantee freedom from nuclear weapons the treaty contains a ban on the possession, stockpiling, and deployment of nuclear weapons in the corridor and their transit [through it].
3. No maneuvers take place in the corridor with weapons that are banned in it.
4. In the negotiations, the participation is required of those states which have deployed nuclear weapons covered by the definition in Point 3 on the territory of the corridor. These states are urged to undertake the commitment, binding in international law, to remove all their nuclear weapons from the corridor permanently, to respect its status, and not to undertake anything that could endanger it.
5. The nuclear weapon powers should give assurances, binding in international law, not to use and not to threaten to use nuclear weapons against the corridor.
6. This treaty moreover would not affect the commitment resulting from membership in the Warsaw Pact organization and the North Atlantic Alliance.

V

Verification Principles

1. In accordance with the principles of the partnership of equal security, verification measures are necessary which guarantee observance of the commitments to be entered into and which are suited to promoting growing trust.

The extent and nature of the verification must be adequate for the extent of disarmament measures that are to be agreed. Here, national verification measures have precedence over international.

2. As the goal of the striven-for agreement is complete freedom from nuclear weapons in the corridor, verification must relate to the withdrawal and the presence or absence of nuclear weapons in accordance with the definition, for which national and international verification procedures are necessary.

Instruments of Verification

National Verification [second subhead as recieved, no number 3 transmitted]

The governments of the participating states are to assume responsibility for the observance of all obligations entered into. For this they create or use national verification means and take thenecessary internal state measures.

The treaty partners exchange information and experience on the withdrawal of the relevant weapons and the elimination of the existing stocks, in order to facilitate the necessary verification with adequate national technical means on both sides, the more so as some of the states involved do not have satellites for checking the absence of nuclear weapons.

International Verification

4. International verification will be carried out by a permanent international commission. All states which assume the obligations of the nuclear-weapons-free corridor have the right to become members of this commission.[number as received]

The participating states have the duty to work together with the permanent international commission for the solution of the problems which arise in applying the commitments entered into and to support it in its work.

Implementation of International Verification

5. If suspicion of violation of the treaty arises, the permanent international commission is brought into play. The relevant complaints must be well-founded.

If the cause of suspicion is not removed within a period which is to be set, the permanent international commission will carry out on-the-spot inspections.

6. Details of the statutes determining the modus operandi and rights of the permanent international commission, including verification, on-the-spot inspections on request, periods of notice, exchange of information, and description of the permanent international commission, must be laid down in the negotiations.

Among the things to be regulated here are: observation posts for the withdrawal of the nuclear weapons from the corridor, procedure for the announcement of the start and finish of the withdrawal and the exchange of relevant lists, the setting up of permanent verification points for random checks.

/12232

CSO: 2300/60

POLITICS

POLAND

DOMINATION OF 'MILITARY JARGON' IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS CRITICIZED

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 16 Sep 86 p 4

[Article by Zbigniew Szydowski: "Military Jargon"]

[Text] At meetings people are asking questions about a lot of irritating things going on in public life. These kinds of questions are also being asked by radio, press and TV reporters. For example, why are there shortages of cement, teachers, or housing? Why are problems of one sort or another always occurring in retail trade, in the transportation sector, or other areas?

Instead of concise, straightforward answers, we all too often get a flood of rhetoric. The sentences come out written in a kind of military-security-style jargon that is hardly intelligible and devoid of answers.

So, we wind up hearing things like expressions of gratitude for having "raised a topic" [wywołanie tematu] or reports to the effect that right now the "order of magnitude" [rzad wielkości] is such that it is not feasible to take "the line of least resistance" [najmniejsza linia oporu]. Or we are informed about "directive no 191," the "given situation" [określona sytuacja], "underlying factors" [uwarunkowania], and so on and so forth.

Taken as a whole, all of this amounts to nothing but gibberish and serves only to make people more irritated. People who in their everyday lives speak a normal, comprehensible language wind up resorting to this military jargon when speaking in public--as if this style was capable of helping or explaining anything.

It definitely happens too often that we are not getting any real answers to our questions expressed in clear and intelligible language. The fact that something or other is in short supply and will remain scarce for a long time to come may be the fault of someone who was not able to handle their job, whereas there may be someone else who could set everything right. It may be that this is a charge that will have to be refuted. It may be that such a charge is both unjust and unfair, but there is no need to beat around the bush about it.

There are increasingly fewer secrets in public life. High-ranking government officials are speaking openly; representatives of our party's senior leadership are talking openly at meetings with working people and at more official kinds of meetings. So, where does this military jargon come from? Indeed, where does it come from and why do we need it?

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CSO: 2600/109

POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

INTERNAL AFFAIRS ACADEMY ANNIVERSARY--The Internal Affairs Academy in Warsaw celebrated the 15th anniversary of the start of a new academic year. The candidate member of the CC Politburo, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, Janusz Kubasiewicz participated. During the ceremony, the director general of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, chief of personnel and professional training of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Gen. Bde. Jozef Chometowski and the rector of the Internal Affairs Academy, Gen. Bde. professor Tadeusz Walichnowski presented doctoral diplomas, indexes, as well as honors awards for distinguished master's theses written during the 1985-1986 academic year. The inaugural lecture entitled "Contemporary Issues of Economic Crime" was delivered by Colonel docent Eugeniusz Cilecki.
[Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Oct 86 p 5] /12624

PERSONNEL POLICY MEETING--A meeting of chairmen, first secretaries of PZPR Plant Committees, and directors of personnel and training of central administrations of cooperative unions was held at the PZPR CC training center. The meeting was called in order to share information on lessons learned in the process of implementing the 6 May 1986 resolution of the PZPR CC Politburo regarding personnel policy in the party and the government. The state of preparedness for the review of organizational structures, the certification and review of job slots, and performance reviews of individual personnel was discussed. The discussion indicated the need for improving personnel policy and work with supervisory personnel. Special emphasis was placed on shortcomings and difficulties. A special point was made of emphasizing the need to give party units a larger say in the execution of personnel policy within the cooperative movement. It was indicated that there is a need to demonstrate greater activism and take full advantage of the "cooperative law" in order to build systems for working with personnel while maintaining cooperative autonomy. It was on this basis, as well as on the basis of the PZPR 10th Congress documents that resolutions were formulated and suggestions were presented pertaining to ways and means of eliminating unfavorable developments occurring all too often in the cooperative movement, developments which are continually being brought to light by party and government control organs. Wladyslaw Honkisz, the head of the PZPR CC Personnel Policy Department, chaired the meeting.
[Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Oct 86 p 5] /12624

COOPERATION BETWEEN POLAND, USSR--The directions and forms of intensifying economic cooperation between Poland and the USSR were the subject of a meeting between vice premier, chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, Manfred Gorywoda and the chairman of the USSR government unit for promoting ties between both countries, Vladimir P. Lakhtin. Special emphasis was placed on the development of direct cooperation between Polish and Soviet industrial plants, on speeding up the development of coproduction relationships, and on implementation of scientific and technical progress. A discussion took place on issues connected with the participation of the Soviets in the expansion of Poland's manufacturing potential. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Oct 86 p 5] /12624

TRAINING FOR PRESS SPOKESMEN--The Government Employees Postgraduate Training Center in Warsaw began its 4th academic year. The Center is expanding the scope of its advanced training curriculum to encompass additional specialized courses of study. On the basis of an agreement with the minister of finance, two courses for the treasury administration and for bankers involved in foreign finance were implemented. In addition, course offerings for ministry and voivodship governors' are being planned. At the opening, the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Building Industry, Janusz Maciejewicz, and the Center director, professor Adam Jaroszynski signed agreements to provide management training to personnel working in these industries. The director of the PZPR CC Personnel Policy Department, Wladyslaw Honkisz and the minister--chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers, Michal Janiszewski, attended the opening ceremonies. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Oct 86 p 2] /12624

CSO: 2600/94

POLITICS

ROMANIA

LIBERIA'S DOE MAKES OFFICIAL VISIT

Ceausescu Toast at Dinner

AU182130 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Oct 86 pp 1, 3

[Toast by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Samuel Kanyan Doe of Liberia, at an official dinner held on 15 October in Bucharest]

[Text] Mr President Samuel Kanyan Doe, esteemed guests from the Republic of Liberia, comrades and friends,

I have the great pleasure of extending to you, Mr President, and your accompanying aides warmest wishes of welcome to Romania.

Your visit to our country is an expression of the positive course of Romanian-Liberian relations of friendship and cooperation and of the joint desire to confer broader dimensions to these ties, in accordance with our nations' interests for progress, development, peace, and international understanding.

We believe that all conditions exist for expanding and diversifying economic relations, substantially increasing trade exchanges, and embarking upon mutually advantageous cooperation ventures in industry, agriculture, and other sectors of joint interest.

By reaching long-term agreements and understandings, the intensification of our efforts and concerns regarding the implementation of these opportunities will give stability and far-reaching scope to Romanian-Liberian relations.

The international situation continues to be particularly serious and complex as a result of the intensification of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race; the maintenance and even aggravation of certain conflicts; the policy of force and threat of force; interference in domestic affairs of other states; the instability of the world economy; and the worsening of the economic situation of developing countries. All this further increases the danger of a new world war and a nuclear catastrophe, which would lead to the destruction of the existence of life itself on our planet.

Proceeding from these realities, Romania believes that in the current circumstances, the key issue of our age is to defend peace, proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and remove the danger of a destructive nuclear war. It is necessary to do everything possible to put an end to this dangerous course of events and to unite the efforts of nations and progressive forces everywhere in the struggle against the policy of confrontation and war and for the defense of the supreme right of people and nations to free and dignified existence, life, and peace.

Proceeding from the fact that the recent Soviet-U.S. summit in Reykjavik failed to lead to concrete results and did not meet the nations' expectations and desire for peace and disarmament, we believe that now, more than ever before, the peoples of Europe and throughout the world should assume a greater responsibility and act resolutely to bring about appropriate understandings along the road of halting the arms race on earth and in space, reducing conventional and classical armaments as well as troops and military expenditures.

In this respect, Romania decided to unilaterally proceed to reducing military expenditures by 5 percent by the end of this year. Our country has also called on all European states, the United States, and Canada to individually proceed to a reduction of at least 5 percent in armaments even before an appropriate agreement is reached in this respect.

We believe that the adoption by consensus of several good agreements at the Stockholm conference represented an important step for a transition to further negotiations on reaching mutually acceptable agreements in the field of disarmament.

Concurrently with intensifying disarmament actions, it is also necessary to increase efforts to peacefully resolve, through negotiations, the conflicts in various parts of the world as well as all contentious problems between states.

The Romanian people and Socialist Romania have always shown support and solidarity with the struggle of peoples in Africa for totally eliminating colonialism, consolidating their national independence, and promoting their free development along the road of socioeconomic progress. We believe that the Organization of African Unity plays a very important role in this respect. It can substantially contribute to developing cooperation among the states on that continent, including their economic cooperation, and pooling all efforts to politically resolve the problems existing between certain African states.

We support most firmly the Namibian people's just struggle, under the leadership of SWAPO [South West African People's Organization], for Namibia's independence. We firmly condemn the apartheid policy of the racist regime in South Africa and demand that it ends all aggressive and repressive actions against the majority of people in that country and the neighboring sovereign and independent states.

Romania consistently works for eliminating underdevelopment and establishing a new economic order which can ensure the faster progress of all states, primarily those lagging behind, and promote the harmonious development of the world economy.

A just and lasting resolution of the great problems facing our age requires the active and equal participation in international life of all states, regardless of size and social system, primarily the small and medium-sized countries and the neutral and nonaligned countries, which represent the large majority of the world and are directly interested in a policy of independence, cooperation, and peace.

Mr President, with the conviction that your visit to Romania and the talks and meetings we are scheduled to have will contribute to strengthening cooperation between our countries, I would like to toast:

- the further development of friendship and cooperation between the SR of Romania and the Republic of Liberia and between our two peoples;
- the progress and prosperity of the friendly Liberian people;
- your health, Mr President, and the health of all our guests from the Republic of Liberia;
- peace and cooperation throughout the world! (applause)

Visits Economic Units

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 17 Oct 86

[Text] On 17 October, the president of the Republic of Liberia, Samuel Kanyon Doe, and his accompanying party visited the port area and the shipbuilding enterprise in the municipality of Constanta.

The Liberian president was informed of the expansion and modernization of the largest seaport in Romania.

At the shipbuilding enterprise in Constanta, the distinguished guest was shown large-tonnage ships in various construction stages.

The president of the Republic of Liberia signed the unit's book of honour and expressed his appreciation for the Romanian shipbuilding industry, for the high technical standard of its products.

At noon, the Liberian guests returned to Bucharest.

In the afternoon, President Samuel Kanyon Doe and his accompanying party saw round the Institute of Research, Design and Technological Engineering for the Mechanization of Agriculture at Baneasa. The Liberian head of state also visited an exhibition showing airplanes and helicopters built by the Romanian aviation industry, as well as the History Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

At the end of his visit, the Liberian president signed the museum's book of honour.

Concludes Visit

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1652 GMT 18 Oct 86 AU

President Samuel Kanyon Doe of the Republic of Liberia concluded his official visit of friendship to Romania on 18 October.

The official departure ceremony took place in Bucharest outside the Palace of the Republic.

Members of the State Council and the government, generals, and other officials attended.

Through its unfolding and results, the distinguished Liberian guest's visit goes down as a moment of great importance for the growth and deepening of friendly and cooperative ties between the two countries and peoples, in the mutual interest, for the benefit of detente, peace, understanding and cooperation among nations.

Text of Communique on Visit

AU201507 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Oct 86 p 6

[Text of "Communique on the Visit to the SR of Romania by the President of the Republic of Liberia, Samuel Kanyon Doe" from 15 to 18 October]

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, Samuel Kanyon Doe, president of the Republic of Liberia, paid an official, friendly visit to the SR of Romania from 15 to 18 October 1986.

The president of Liberia and the officials who accompanied him visited socioeconomic units and cultural establishments in Bucharest and in the country and enjoyed a warm reception as an expression of the sentiments of esteem and friendship harbored for each other by the peoples of the two countries.

The president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and the president of the Republic of Liberia, Samuel Kanyon Doe, conducted official talks which took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding.

During the talks, the two presidents briefed each other about the concerns and socioeconomic development targets of their countries and examined ways and means of intensifying the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and conducted an exchange of opinions on current international issues.

The talks were attended for Romania by:

Cornel Pacoste, deputy prime minister of the government; Stefan Birlea, chairman of the State Planning Committee; Gheorge David, minister of agriculture; Ilie Vaduva, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; Marin Nedelcu, minister of the machine-building industry; Pavel Aron, minister of transportation and telecommunications; Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Marin Ivascu, vice chairman of the Grand National Assembly; Constantin Mitea and Nicolae Mihalache, counselors to the president of the SR of Romania; and Petre Tanasie, Director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

For Liberia by:

H.Q. Taylor, Senate member; Alfred B. Curtis, vice president of the House of Representatives; J. Bernard Blamo, minister of foreign affairs; Paul Jeffy,

minister of planning and economic affairs; Mcleod Darpoh, minister of commerce, industry, and transportation; Gblorzuo Toweh, minister of agriculture; E. Harding Smythe, presidential counselor for national security; J. Charles Hansford, ambassador and chief of protocol at the Presidential Palace; Jonathan C. Taylor, deputy minister of state for public works; Emmanuel L. Shaw II, deputy minister for international cooperation; William Bull, assistant minister and special counselor at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; R. Webster Simpson, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Republic of Liberia in Bucharest.

I

Examining the relations between the SR of Romania and the Republic of Liberia, the two presidents expressed their satisfaction with the development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between their countries and peoples. In this context, the two heads of state reasserted their determination to act to achieve broader bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, educational, technical, and scientific areas, and to promote peace, understanding, and international cooperation between all nations.

Stressing the importance of economic cooperation and of strengthening relations in general between the two countries and peoples and taking into account the potential available in their national economies and the priorities in their socioeconomic development programs, the two presidents agreed to increase trade exchanges and develop economic cooperation in such areas as agriculture, industry, oil, mining, fishing, construction and transportation, and in other areas of common interest to give an impetus to the development of barter trade and the conclusion of long-term agreements.

During the visit, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samuel Kanyon Doe signed a long-term accord on developing economic and technical cooperation and trade exchanged between the SR of Romania and the Republic of Liberia.

The two sides agreed to strengthen the role of the Joint Government Commission for Economic Cooperation in actively promoting Romanian-Liberian economic relations.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samuel Kanyon Doe also agreed to expand bilateral links and meetings at a government or parliamentary level, and links between civic organizations of the two countries.

II

Examining problems and processes regarding ensuring peace and socioeconomic progress in the present-day world, the president of the SR of Romania and the president of the Republic of Liberia noted with concern that the international situation continues to be very grave as a result of the continuation of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, of the existence of areas of conflict, of the use and threat of force in international relations, of the interference in the affairs of other countries, and as a result of the deepening of the world economic crisis which has particularly affected the developing countries. The two presidents stressed the need to urgently resolve these problems which seriously endanger peace and international security.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samuel Kanyon Doe appealed to all nations to take firm action to prevent the outbreak of a new world war which would inevitably turn into a nuclear catastrophe thus endangering the very existence of life on our planet.

The two presidents assessed that the key problem of our times, which requires resolute actions from all states, is to ensure peace and proceed to concrete disarmament measures, primarily nuclear disarmament. In this respect, the two heads of state expressed the conviction that one should proceed to actually implementing a comprehensive disarmament program, which should give priority to the elimination of nuclear weapons, while also reducing conventional armaments, troops, and military expenditures.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samuel Kanyon Doe assessed that a reduction of troops, armies, and military expenditures by all states would substantially contribute to the attainment of disarmament. In this respect, the president of the Republic of Romania expressed support for the appeal addressed by the president of the SR of Romania to all European states, the United States of America, Canada, and other countries to individually proceed to a reduction of their armaments by at least 5 percent. The Liberian leader also valued Romania's decision to proceed to a 5 percent cutback in armaments, troops, and military expenditures by the end of this year, something which would set an example for other states.

The president of the SR of Romania and the president of the Republic of Liberia stressed the need to create zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans and other parts of the world, as an important step along the road of detente and greater trust and understanding in the world.

The two presidents agreed that the attainment of general and complete disarmament would release important funds which are presently spent on armaments, funds that could be used for promoting each country's socioeconomic development and aiding the efforts of developing countries for their faster socioeconomic progress.

Expressing concern over the complex situation in Europe, the two presidents spoke out for the speedy conclusion of an agreement on halting the deployment of intermediate-range missiles on the continent, destroying the existing missiles, and removing all chemical weapons.

The two heads of state assessed that the decisions adopted at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe mirror the hopes and aspirations of nations in Europe and throughout the world and create prerequisites for a transition to negotiating mutually acceptable agreements on disarmament.

Expressing concern over the difficult economic situation of developing countries, the two heads of state agreed that resolute steps should be taken to eliminate underdevelopment and urgently establish a new world economic order.

In this respect, they spoke out for organizing a UN-sponsored international conference which should reach agreements on ensuring the harmonious and equitable development of all countries and should conduct global discussions on establishing a new international economic order.

Referring to the problem of the foreign debt of developing countries, which endangers the stability of the entire world economy as well as international cooperation and peace in the world, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samuel Kanyon Doe stressed the need for a global political-economic solution of this problem, through the adoption of measures aimed at cancelling the debts of the poorest countries, reducing and rescheduling the debts of other developing countries, and granting new credits, under advantageous conditions, for the socio-economic development of these countries.

The two heads of state reiterated the important role that the United Nations must play in finding a global solution to the foreign debt problem. In this respect, they advocated the adoption of appropriate measures by the 41st session of the UN General Assembly.

The two presidents pointed out the particular importance of expanding and deepening economic cooperation between developing countries and strengthening their solidarity and action unity in the efforts to promote their own development and establish equal and equitable relations in the world economy.

The president of the SR of Romania and the president of the Republic of Liberia spoke out for ending conflicts and military disputes between states and for solving them peacefully through negotiations between the interested parties or under the UN aegis.

In this respect, the two presidents emphasized the need for a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict. The two heads of states assessed that a just and lasting peace in that region can only be attained on the basis of Israel's complete withdrawal from the territories occupied in the wake of the 1967 war, recognition of the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination, including the creation of their own independent state, and recognition of the right of all states in that area to live in peace and security within internationally recognized and guaranteed borders.

The two presidents expressed support for convening a UN-sponsored international conference aimed at finding a political solution to the Middle East conflict.

Concerning the war between Iran and Iraq, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samuel Kanyon Doe expressed regret over the heavy human and material losses suffered by both countries and stressed that this war poses a real threat to peace and security in that region and throughout the world. The two heads of state spoke out for ending this war as soon as possible, renouncing any kind of military actions, and proceeding to a resolution of this problem through negotiations, in the spirit of full equality, mutual respect, and national independence and sovereignty.

Examining the situation in Africa, president of the SR of Romania Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and president of the Republic of Liberia Samuel Kanyon Doe pointed out the progress made by African peoples in their just struggle for freedom and national independence, for promoting their socioeconomic development, and for expanding their cooperation and strengthening their action unity. At the same time, the sides expressed concern over the persistence of hotbeds of tension in Africa, particularly the aggressive and destabilizing actions of imperialist and neocolonialist forces against African nations.

The two presidents condemned most firmly the racist and apartheid policy as well as the repressive measures of South African authorities against the majority population in that country. The sides asked that an end be put to aggressive and destabilizing actions against neighboring independent African states by the racist regime in Pretoria.

The president of the SR of Romania and the president of the Republic of Liberia firmly reiterated their countries' solidarity with and support for the just struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of the South-West African People's Organization, and for Namibia's immediate independence, on the basis of Resolution 435/1978 of the UN Security Council.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samuel Kanyon Doe also emphasized the important role devolving on the Organization of African Unity in pooling the efforts of African countries to solve conflicts peacefully, intensify economic cooperation between the members of this organization, and repel the maneuvers and aggressive acts of imperialist, colonialist, neocolonialist, and racist forces against African nations.

The president of the SR of Romania and the president of the Republic of Liberia highlighted the importance of the Nonaligned Movement and its contribution to maintaining and consolidating world peace and to eliminating colonialism and racist discrimination in the world.

The two presidents assessed that the decisions of the recent Harare conference of heads of state or government has been a most important event for increasing the role of these states in the resolution of political and economic problems of international life.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Samuel Kanyon Doe believe that the United Nations is the most adequate international forum for a democratic discussion of political and socioeconomic problems of the contemporary world. The two presidents spoke out for improving the activity of the United Nations and other international organizations and increasing their role in the promotion of international peace and cooperation.

The two heads of state decided to intensify cooperation between the SR of Romania and the Republic of Liberia within the United Nations, other international organizations, the Group of 77, and the Nonaligned Movement, with a view to ensuring peace, security, and broader cooperation in the world.

III

The president of the SR of Romania and the president of the Republic of Liberia expressed full satisfaction at the way in which the talks were conducted and the understandings reached during the visit. The two presidents expressed the conviction that the results of their talks make a new and valuable contribution to deepening relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, to the benefit and in the interest of both peoples and of peace, progress, and cooperation in the world.

On behalf of the delegation that accompanied him and on his own behalf, President Samuel Kanyon Doe expressed profound gratitude and thanks to President of the SR of Romania Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and to the Romanian people for the warm reception and hospitality extended to them throughout the visit, something which reflects the sentiments of friendship, esteem, and solidarity between the two countries and peoples.

President of the Republic of Liberia Samuel Kanyon Doe invited President of the SR of Romania Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to pay an official friendship visit to the Republic of Liberia together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date of the visit will be established later through diplomatic channels.

/12232

CSO: 2020/19

POLITICS

ROMANIA

AMBASSADOR ADDRESSES UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY POLITICAL COMMITTEE

AU171128 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1017 GMT 17 Oct 86

[Text] United Nations, AGERPRES, 17 October 1986--The highly topical problems of halting the arms race and achievement of disarmament, nuclear above all, is thoroughly analyzed in the general debates on political and security issues of the UN General Assembly.

In his address, Romanian Ambassador Teodor Marinescu underlined the imperative need to do everything possible to solve the fundamental issues of our epoch: the halting of the arms race and the achievement of disarmament, the change of the dangerous course of events heading at present for a nuclear catastrophe toward a new policy of detente, disarmament and cooperation in the world.

Starting from the fact that nuclear arms threaten the whole mankind, as President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania pointed out time and again, all states should firmly speak up, make their own contribution to determine effective actions along the path of disarmament, nuclear first of all--the speaker showed. The need was stressed to work out a complex disarmament programme, with nuclear disarmament as its centerpiece, with specific measures aimed at eliminating chemical weapons completely, a substantial reduction of conventional weapons, of troops and military budgets, and other measures to open the path for the achievement of real disarmament. Such a programme should contain, besides the elimination of nuclear weapons, by stages, until 2000 also a 25 percent reduction of conventional arms, as the reductions should reach 50 percent until 2000.

The Romanian representatives asked the Geneva Disarmament Conference to intensify negotiations on the global disarmament programme under debate and which should be endorsed at the third special disarmament session of the General Assembly, whose convening is to be set at the current session. Romania's resolve was set forth to proceed to a unilateral 5 percent reduction of arms, troops and military expenses. The speaker showed that the adoption of similar measures by the European states would be a good and promising debut which would pave the way for serious negotiation, in full accordance with the aspirations and requirements of the European and world public opinion, of all world nations. In this context, the need was stressed for the UN to involve itself more and more actively in the reduction of military budgets.

It was stressed that practical measures should be adopted to prevent the extension of the military competition to outer space and to use it to peaceful purposes, to adopt measures for the utilization of spatial technologies for all states' socioeconomic development, to elaborate a treaty on this issue and to create, at the United Nations, a special organism for outer space.

The Romanian representative pointed to the need to intensify the activities of all existing disarmament fora. Romania's position was reiterated on the forthcoming meeting of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe in the Austrian capital, the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and arms and adjacent measures in Central Europe, the need to intensify the activity of the Geneva disarmament conference and enhance the UN role in the examination and settlement of disarmament issues.

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CSO: 2020/19

POLITICS

ROMANIA

AGERPRES SEES UK MOVES AGAINST SYRIA AS 'UNJUSTIFIED ACTS'

AU280921 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0801 GMT 28 Oct 86

["An Act That Does Not Serve the Interests of Peace and Understanding Among People--AGERPRES News Agency Commentary"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28 October 1986--Public opinion in Romania has been surprised and puzzled by Great Britain's unilateral decision to break diplomatic links with Syria for its alleged implication in a terrorist attempt to blow up an Israeli El Al airliner due to take off at London's Heathrow Airport.

In ignorance of official Syrian statements categorically rejecting as groundless the accusations against Syria and its implications in that act, Great Britain unilaterally severed diplomatic ties, which is against the norms and principles of interstate relations and an act that further deteriorates international relations.

It is well known Romania's firm position against any terrorist acts--that claim the lives of innocent people, of civilian population--which can never be a form of political and national liberation struggle [sentence as received].

Romania that stood and stands most resolutely against all acts of terrorism believes that its liquidation calls for positive efforts from all the states, a close international cooperation including at the United Nations.

All the much more can a measure like Great Britain's never help combating terrorism. On the contrary, such measures breed animosity, undermine confidence among states, artificially raising international tension. And it is precisely under such circumstances when the world situation is deteriorating that everything possible should be done to change the dangerous course of events, to renounce all acts and measures of force, to take constructive action founded on mutual respect, on unanimously recognised international norms, out of the wish to solve all problems that may arise between states only peacefully, by way of negotiations. Hence the need for all states to exercise restraint and calm in the judgment of facts, for reason as well as the interests of cooperation and understanding among peoples to prevail.

It is in this spirit that one can understand the profound concern of the Romanian people--like of all world peoples--to see that action is taken toward a political

settlement of problems, for peace to be ensured in the Mediterranean, in Europe and the world over. Romania takes the view that Great Britain's diplomatic rift and the intention of some Western states to take measures that can affect a normal course of their ties with Syria are unjustified acts against a sovereign and independent state that may jeopardize underway efforts for a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

It is still time to reflect on the decision to sever ties with Syria, to go back on it, in consideration of the interests of international peace and cooperation, of the expansion of normal relations between states. Life has proved that the severance of ties between two countries unavoidably leads to a break of dialogue, to declining possibilities for constructive understandings and solutions in the interest of both parties.

Romania--that has had additionally [as received] good relations with Syria--is determined further to expand its ties of friendship, cooperation and solidarity with the Syrian Arab Republic because it is convinced that this serves the interests of the two peoples to develop in freedom and independence, as well as the cause of international peace, security, detente and understanding.

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CSO: 2020/19

POLITICS

ROMANIA

ROMANIAN DAILIES COMMENT ON REYKJAVIK SUMMIT

AU151058 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0941 GMT 15 Oct 86

[AGERPRES headline: "The Peoples' Interests Ask for Energetic Actions and Concrete Measures Along the Path of Disarmament and Peace"]

[Text] The Romanian people, just as the other peoples in the world, followed the new summit Soviet-American dialogue of Reykjavik, hoping it would mark real steps along the path of removing the nuclear danger and lead to effective measures of disarmament and peace. Unfortunately these were vain hopes. The interview led to no concrete results whatsoever, virtually ending in a failure according to many observers, political analysts and news agencies. The lack of any results further singled out that still prevailing was the policy of tension and arming and outer space militarization to the detriment of measures and concrete action along the path of disarmament and removing the nuclear danger, of ensuring the fundamental right of man, of peoples to live in peace, reads an article in SCINTEIA on 15 October.

Since huge amounts of arms, nuclear in particular, that can turn to nothing any trace of life throughout the planet, have been amassed in the world, and the most important arsenals are held by the two great powers, they were expected to strike an agreement on a substantive reduction of these arms on either side and on halting the outer space militarization. At the same time, since a particularly grave situation emerged in Europe concomitantly with the emplacement of the new intermediate range missiles, it was and is particularly important to come to agreements on immediately halting the further emplacement of these weapons and on passing to the withdrawal of the existing ones, this certainly meeting the vital interests of the peoples in the continent and all over the world.

Well, such agreements have not been struck at the Reykjavik interview and this is even more difficult to understand and regrettable when considering that during the talks for the first time very close stances had been reached. Substantial progress seemed at hand in view of an agreement on considerably diminishing the strategic arsenals, eradicating the intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe and limiting those in Asia, and the prospects of opening negotiations on a general agreement on halting the nuclear tests looked near.

The possibilities envisaged could not come true as the American side insisted on the continuation of the project of outer space militarization (star wars),

including the tests of its various components not only in laboratories but in outer space as well, which might generate a new dangerous spiralling of the arms race. One may say that in this way a good chance was wasted to make a considerable step ahead in halting the arms race, in passing to real disarmament measures, life, experience showing that any meeting and any action should be judged upon its results.

The lack of tangible results at the Reykjavik summit renders more necessary than ever the intensification of all European peoples', of all world peoples' efforts for halting the dangerous course of events, for resolutely ending the arming policy. Everything possible must be done so that, by tenacious efforts, by all peoples' and world public opinion's concerted actions real, tangible accords be reached to avoid an atomic catastrophe, to halt the conventional and nuclear arms race on earth and its expansion to outer space.

European peoples in particular are called upon to work more resolutely to assume greater responsibilities to determine the undelayed cessation of the location of new nuclear missiles in Europe and a passage to the removal of the ones in place, for the establishment of a climate of understanding and full security.

Untiring efforts are more necessary than ever for the adoption of tangible measures for a real cut in arms, troops and military expenses. Political will should be shown more than ever for starting real negotiations as well as true wish to advance on the path of disarmament and peace people have long cherished.

The achievement of real disarmament measures imperatively calls for stepped-up activities in disarmament negotiating forums, at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva, more particularly. The upcoming all-European meeting in Vienna is also a major opportunity for the participant states to work responsibly for the strengthening of confidence and security in the continent, by shaping out disarmament understandings. Undoubtedly, the items on which agreement in principle was reached during the meeting in Iceland are a precious gain in that respect, and it should not be wasted; they make up a useful starting point, and no efforts should be spared for those understandings to be appropriately finalized in the respective forums.

Moreover, in consideration of the role and weight the two big powers carry in the international arena, of their responsibilities for the fate of peace, everything possible should be done to further the summit Soviet-U.S. dialogue, just as the two sides have actually announced their intention to do, in order to reach mutually acceptable agreements to resume the course towards detente and secure peace in the world.

At the same time, starting from the basic reality that nuclear weapons pose a threat to life, to the existence of mankind as a whole, that peace problems are of equal concern to all states and peoples--the latter should make their contribution, have their resolute say and work for efficient actions towards disarmament.

It is Romania's and the Romanian people's unshakable belief that the firm action of all countries and peoples will lead to real progress on the path of

halting the arms race and achieving disarmament, of attaining mankind's foremost aspirations towards living in a world delivered from the nightmare of wars, a world of peace, confidence, security and peaceful collaboration between all nations, SCINTEIA writes in conclusion.

In turn, newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA reads: Naturally, the Romanian people, the peoples throughout the world believe the new summit dialogue between the USSR and the United States might have been a most opportune time to make steps toward the promotion of understanding, halting the siting of further missiles in Europe and withdrawing the existing ones, halting all the nuclear tests and the outer space militarization, attaining real disarmament and improving the international situation, in deeping with the fundamental interests and the vital aspirations of the whole of mankind.

Unfortunately the interview did not end in results to meet the natural expectations. The summit dialouge in the Icelandic capital could not end in an accord particularly because the American side insisted on the continuation of the outer space militarization project, inclusive of the continuation of tests on the components of this project not only in the laboratory but also in the outer space, which naturally leads to a new grave escalation of the arms race.

Another, major opportunity to conclude agreements, which the whole world expected, was wasted.

Owing to their big-power status, the USSR and the USA have great responsibilities for world peace and security; that is why the peoples expect that they should be the first to take concrete and efficient action for the safeguarding of peace and the strengthening of international security. Obviously, the items on which the two sides agreed or reached close stands for the first time are a strong argument in favour of the furtherance of summit dialouge, and the two states showed their intention to further it.

The current international circumstances require now, more than ever before, a passage from words to deeds in the field of disarmament. Now more than ever before, ROMANIA LIBERA stresses, the peoples of the world, the peoples of Europe first of all, should step up their efforts and assume concrete responsibilities to reach, as soon as possible, understandings leading to the strengthening of confidence and collaboration, to the accords needed to pave the way for disarmament, security and peace in the continent and worldwide.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

JOINT RALLY WITH CSSR YOUTH HELD IN TIMISOARA

Ceausescu Addresses Rally

AU082140 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1934 GMT 8 Oct 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 8 October 1986—A friendly meeting is underway in Timisoara between Romanian and Czechoslovak youth representatives. The event is part of the ties of close collaboration between the Romanian and Czechoslovak youths, which take a steadily upward course in the spirit of the traditional relations of friendship established between the two parties, countries and peoples.

A rally of friendship between the Romanian and Czechoslovak youths was held on 8 October, attended by youths of Timisoara's economic cultural and education units.

Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the CC of the RCP's Executive Political Committee, first secretary of the CC of the Union of Communist Youth (UCY), took the floor and addressed a warm, friendly salute to the participants in the meeting. He underscored that the ties of friendship between the Romanian and Czechoslovak youths, between the two youth organizations had continually expanded and diversified on various planes, in keeping with the understandings convened during summit dialogues. Next, he surveyed the major preoccupations of the young generation in Romania for the attainment of the country's socio-economic development goals.

The first secretary of the CC of the UCY pointed out that an extremely grave situation still persisted in the international life, as a result of the continuation of the arms race, of the nuclear race, more particularly. In context, he showed that the Romanian youth expressed its full adherence to Romania's new initiative concerning a unilateral reduction by 5 percent of arms, troops and military spending this year, which makes a concrete contribution to the process of halting the arms race, to safeguarding people's foremost right to peace, to existence. Emphasis was placed on the fact that, especially now, in the International Year of Peace, the youth should work in unity, irrespective of political, ideological and philosophical orientations and beliefs and militate for the fulfillment of its basic aspirations towards living in a world free of wars and armed conflicts, in a world of peace and security.

Next, Jiri Baryl, secretary of the CC of the Socialist Union of Youth, head of the youth delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, took the floor. He highlighted the fine, friendly and cooperative ties established between the Romanian and Czechoslovak peoples, the contribution the youth organizations in the two countries make to boosting those relations, to implementing the decisions covenanted between the RCP general secretary and Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the secretary-general of the Presidium of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak.

The belief was expressed that the new friendly meeting between Romanian and Czechoslovak youth representatives too, would occasion a useful interchange of opinions and experience and make a major contribution to better mutual knowledge, in the interest of the common cause of peace and socialism, understanding and international collaboration,

Next, Romanian and Czechoslovak youth artistic ensembles performed in a cultural show.

Delegation Calls on Ceausescu

AU102128 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1925 GMT 10 Oct 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 10 October 1986--A friendly meeting is underway in Timisoara between representatives of the youth in Romania and in Czechoslovakia.

Friday, 10 October, the leaders of the delegation of the Socialist Union of Youth [SUY] of Czechoslovakia called on Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the Central Committee of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth].

During the interview the sides highlighted the ascending evolution and the prospects of development on multiple planes of the collaboration between the UCY and the SUY as a concrete contribution to a continuous strengthening of the relations of friendship between the two parties, countries and peoples, that was given a decisive impetus by the talks and understandings reached by Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Gustav Husak.

During the talks the sides highlighted the active contribution made by the youth organizations in the two countries to implementing the programmes of economic and social development, in keeping with the goals set by the 13th Congress of the RCP and the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, respectively.

The sides also exchanged opinions on a series of aspects of the international youth movement, stressing the joint wish to work further for the materialization and consolidation of the unity of the young generation in the struggle for peace, security and disarmament, for a better and juster world.

The same day the leaders of the delegation of the Socialist Union of Youth of Czechoslovakia called on Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

On the occasion the sides singled out the good relations of friendship and collaboration extant between the RCP and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, between the two peoples and countries, and underscored the decisive contribution made by the summit interviews and talks to the continuous development and strengthening of the Romanian-Czechoslovak collaboration and friendship.

The sides singled out the important role incumbent on the young generation everywhere in the peoples' struggle for a world of peace, detente, understanding and international collaboration.

Meeting Concludes

AU111919 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1547 GMT 11 Oct 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 11 October 1986--The friendly meeting between Romanian and Czechoslovak youth representatives concluded in Timisoara, on Saturday, 11 October.

The event goes down as a major moment of the growth registered by the ties between the Romanian and Czechoslovak youths, based on the understandings and talks between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Gustav Husak, against the background of the fine cooperative and friendly relations between the two parties, countries and peoples.

During the meeting, which passes in a working atmosphere of warm friendship, a productive exchange of information and experience was made concerning the current preoccupations of the Union of Communist Youth (UCY) and the Socialist Union of Youth (SUY), towards training the young generation in Romania and Czechoslovakia through and for work and ensuring its multilateral assertion, translating into fact the major economic and social development goals set by the RCP and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, respectively. The resolve was reiterated to work for the further-manysided growth of the friendly and cooperative ties between the UCY and the SUY, between the two countries' youths, in the interest of the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation worldwide.

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POLITICS

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES EGYPTIAN YOUTH--Bucharest AGERPRES 13 October 1986--The relations of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian and Egyptian young people, that develop in the spirit of the traditional links between the two countries and peoples, based on the summit understandings reached by Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Husni Mubarak, were emphasized at the meeting on 13 October in the afternoon, in Bucharest, between Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], minister for youth affairs, and 'Abd al-Ahad Jamal al-Din, chairman of the Supreme Council for Youth and Sports of the Arab Republic of Egypt, now visiting Romania. On the occasion, they exchanged views on current questions of the international youth movement, stressing the important role of the young generation in the peoples' struggle for peace, freedom and national independence, for the building of a better and more just world on our planet. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 13 Oct 86 AU] /12232

BALKAN COUNTRIES TOURIST CONFERENCE--Bucharest AGERPRES 15 October 1986--On 15 October proceedings started in Bucharest of the 19th conference of the official tourist bodies of Balkan countries, attended by delegations of Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Romania. Participants look into aspects posed by the tourist relations among the Balkan countries, and into new ways to amplify the cooperation in the field, in the spirit of the stipulations of the multilateral accord on tourist collaboration in the Balkan region, signed by the five participant states. The 14th conference of the Association of Tourist Agencies of Balkan Countries proceeds at the same time. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1208 GMT 15 Oct 86 AU] /12232

OUTGOING ENVOY TO FINLAND--Mauno Koivisto, president of Finland, has received Maria Stanescu, Romanian ambassador in Helsinki, on a farewell visit at the end of her mission to Finland. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Oct 86 p 6 AU]

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SECRETARY--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Lucianu Dragut is relieved of his position as secretary of the Council of Ministers. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 57, 2 Oct 86 p 2]

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Rusinaru is relieved of his position as president of the Bank for Agriculture and the Food Industry, Comrade Nicolae Eremia is appointed president of the Bank for Agriculture and the Food

committee of the Bihor County Peoples Council. Comrade Gheorghe Enica-Moisescu, director general of the General Directorate for Agriculture in Constanta County, is appointed vice chairman of the executive committee of the Constanta County Peoples Council. Comrade Marian Pufan, director general of the General Directorate for Agriculture in Mehedinti County, is appointed vice chairman of the executive committee of the Mehedinti County Peoples Council. Comrade Teodora Avram is appointed vice chairman of the executive committee of the Timis County Peoples Council. [Excerpts]
Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part 1 No 56, 26 Sep 86 p 4] /12624

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

'NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS' DISCUSSED IN CENTRAL DAILY

[Editorial Report] In a four-article series appearing from 7 through 10 October 1986, page 5, Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian discusses the "new social movements" (peace, ecology, political pluralism, etc.) in order, as it says, to open up a dialogue on the positive and negative aspects of this phenomenon. The paper says "the new social movements are becoming a part of Yugoslav social reality judging from recent discussions; they are also becoming part of political life and the subject of attention by the Socialist Alliance. Their representatives do not consider themselves an alternative society or system but rather want to be a part of the system and see themselves as linked to the deep social crisis. In contrast to the old social movements, they do not idealize social relations or want to assume power and wage a social revolution, but rather to form new relations, forms, and organizations through which specific interests can be met." The principles and strategy of the movements have been elucidated, according to BORBA, in articles by Ignac Erivec and Janez Jansa in the collection "Cold Peace and Other Hot Topics."

The ideologists of the new movements say they seek a change in the position of youth, women, and the system of values. The following basic principles of the peace movement were defined in October 1984 in Ljubljana: spontaneity, direct action, pluralism, and autonomy. Spontaneity was explained as the direct negation of bureaucratization, and direct action as the avoidance of using traditional political representatives.

"They proclaim the pluralism of ideological, scientific, and political thinking which is no longer an instrument of the governing monopoly or political system, but rather the expression of social consciousness. Autonomy and independence mean for them that the movement must not become a transmission line for any idea or ideology dependent on or linked to self-management institutions but rather is based on its own fundamental principles."

BORBA elaborates on the concept of a "civil society," of which the new movements are considered to be a part. "A civil society is defined as the unsocialized sphere of society. Agreement exists on the fact that a civil society can exist alongside the legal system, alongside the state but alongside a legal state which protects the basic agreed-on norms of social life. A civil society means the linking of a fragmented society with new social movements and autonomous organizations, in contrast to alienated centers of power and a parallel social system. The formation of a critical conscience is the capability to comprehend and resolve contradictions and conflicts."

Those in the movements, it says, warn that democratic forms of political pluralism must exist to achieve their goals. As proof that such forms can exist in our society, they cite Kardelj's concept taken from "The Directions of Development". They speak about the civil society as being "a democratic opposition which has a control function over the political state, saying that the expression 'opposition' is not desired in our country because it usually has the narrow meaning of a party political position. It is undesirable, they say, because some people think themselves to be infallible and think that the self-management system resolves within itself all contradictions and opposition in our society. The expression is also not desired because the Socialist Alliance wants to be changed into a complete transmission line of the state." But the SAWP should represent a "democratic position in the political state, or should have a control function over it, say the advocates of a different approach to the idea of 'opposition.'"

Furthermore, they say they are not grouped around ideological principles but around concrete questions of life, such as peace, ecology, spiritual life, feminism, etc. They do not hold identical views on resolving these questions but simply agree that they are too important to leave to states and state functionaries. "We are in no way against the resolution of these questions through the delegate system, but we are conscious of the slowness of this method and the unlimited possibilities for influence which narrow groups of political officials have on them [these questions]." For this reason they are for direct action, open discussion, public demands, workers' strikes, protests, demonstrations, rallies, civil disobedience, public discussions with the state, etc., BORBA says: and they cite three conditions for action under socialism: a legal state; the existence of freedom of speech, thought, and assembly; and a certain level of decentralized power.

BORBA reports on a November 1985 joint meeting of the Slovenian Sociology Society and Slovenian Marxist LC CC Center at which sociologist Zagorka Golubovic (one of the "Belgrade Six" professors) said that "traditional revolutionary movements, even if they do not refer to self-management, cannot avoid dogmatism because they eliminate social movements." These movements, in her view, are the only way to develop personality as the goal of and road toward emancipation. She believes that one should set up in opposition to contemporary, alienating, technological civilization a new personalism and renaissance of humanism and renew the values of the person in opposition to the myth of the organization." She says one is fighting for a new quality of life, creating alternative forms of life instead of destroying the existing ones, changing value orientations, and rejecting especially the "production logic according to which 'to have' is more important than 'to be.'"

BORBA says the youth paper MLADINA published an interesting commentary on the meeting by sociologist Gregor Tomc who made the following divisions: between "theoreticians of traditional movements" and the "praticioners of the new social movements"; "representatives of the so-called dissident models" and "representatives of alternative movements"; and between the "reds" and the "greens."

In regard to SAWPY, BORBA quoted the statement made at a Slovenian Youth League discussion in March by Frane Adam, urging SAWP to change its role into that of a democratic opposition. "That which this system lacks is the possibility for political pluralism. We do not need to link political pluralism to a multiparty system. The only real possibility for us is to realize this within the SAWP. To do this we need big changes in SAWP which is now a transmission line of the party. It would have to represent differing interest groups."

The words of Joze Smole, president of the Slovenian Republic SAWF Conference, are recalled, in which he supports "the widest formation of citizens' movements," noting that such groups "outside the SAWP must be a signal to us that we cannot have a negative view of these manifestations but must include them in the Socialist Alliance."

Milan Kucan, president of the Slovenian LC CC Presidium, has also supported the need to democratize the Socialist Alliance and develop critical opinions and dialogue: "The alternative movements are the greatest criticism of the level of democratization and bureaucratization achieved in our society. Do not think that I am naive and do not know that the movements want to use and are using those who support different political concepts, but they are basically justified in their criticism of our weaknesses. Public opinion research shows the ever greater hostility of people toward institutions and their sympathy for movements. All this is in accord with our concept of the Socialist Alliance. To attack all this as something which is against socialism and our political system I think makes no sense and will again lead us toward stereotypes which are not good."

Finally, BORBA quotes those who have expressed reservations toward the movements. Bosko Kronic at a meeting of the SAWPY Presidium mentioned that some social movements, the "greens," humanists, etc. "had encountered hostility and great reservations" in our country partly because they had been politicized and had become a platform for various political and ideological attacks in the countries where they had acquired leading positions. We cannot accept this," he said. Milan Daljevic, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, expressed opposition to the peace movements, while Franc Setinc and Nenad Bucin at the SAWPY meeting represented the view that one should differentiate between acceptable and unacceptable movements and that one should not fear differing views if one is united on the major questions.

The BORBA series closes with quotations from Kardelj urging that the Socialist Alliance be open to all socialist political views and noting that "the future will change the political structure of society and bring new, more developed forms of democratic life."

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